

R. Gracius, Preud.

A
1286

VINDICATION
OF
GOVERNMENT.

ADDRESSED TO

THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

A N D

DEDICATED (BY PERMISSION) TO THE MAJORITY
IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

Odi profanum vulgus & arceo.

By _____, CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE
DUKE OF * * * * *

DUBLIN:

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The PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND



DEBATED IN THE HOUSES OF COMMONS AND OF LORDS
IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

Dated at *** on *** day of *** month
CHARTER TO HIS GRACE THE

DOCTORS
SIR THOMAS HENSHAW, No. 2, GRENNAE TOWN
WCCXXXIX.

T O T H E
M A J O R I T Y,
I N
BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

EVERY principle of obedience, of attachment, of admiration, prompts me to the immediate vindication of your conduct. I have forbore to the last moment, that forbearance could be justified, and if able hands have refused the task, I hope it will not be thought presumptuous that it is taken up by the weakest.

THE great and patriotic spirit which you so intrepidly displayed in defiance of the desperate enemies of government, can be but inadequately requited by any titles or emolument in the gift of majesty. Yours was no common danger. A military congress usurps the province of legislation, and orders parliament to register its fiat. With the same superior dignity that in the zenith of Roman virtue awed for a moment the licentious soldiery of Brennus, you received

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the tumultuous dictates of the armed populace. You did not fall and the constitution remains inviolate.

A T all times, and in all countries, the most virtuous citizens have been the most obnoxious to public resentment. Neither the character of him surnamed the Just, nor the splendid services of Themistocles could allay the indignation of the people. The conqueror of the Volscians, had he been born a Volscian, could not have been prosecuted with greater enmity in his native city. Even the Victor of Canna fell with less reproach to Rome that poisoned, than to Carthage that proscribed him. Posterity has done them ample justice. One marble records their virtues and eternises the infamy of their persecutors.

S I N K not then beneath the darkness that has set upon your characters. The present night is only favourable to the glow worm patriot that corrodes while it, seems to illuminate the constitution; every thing invites, impells, instigates to decision. The hydra of opposition overthrown, not defeated, still stalks throughout the land, and menaces

menaces your authority. why exhort you to the conflict? as if there could remain a doubt but that the same principle that had hitherto animated you to trample down the arrogant usurpations of the people, would not still beat as strong and as successfully in the further maintenance of your dignity your honour, and your interest.

I HAVE drawn my pen, not often-taciously but conscientiously in your defence, not in the vain expectation of doing justice to virtues already elevated beyond the reach of panegyric, but in the humble hope that my single exception may not be lost to posterity, least it should erroneously regard you as the UNANIMOUS OBJECT of public contempt, public disgust and public execration.

G R A C C H U S.

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My wife and I have been very
busy getting our house in order.
We have had to do a great deal of
work and we are still not quite finished.

Yours truly,

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TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

SIRS,

I CAN have no hope of attention but from the novelty of my appearance. Politics are seldom the province of a divine, and my avowed connexion with government can scarcely be a recommendation to me. Still however, I will not despair of being heard. No otherwise allied to you than by preferment, every principle of grati-

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tude interests me in your prosperity. Enabled by my situation to judge of a variety of measures that have deeply agitated your repose, it is but common justice to lay open your misconception, least ignorance should end in ruin.

The task I have set myself is by no means a favorable one. Reproof runs against the grain of human nature. To flatter their passions and accompany them, is the surest way to advance from the seeming humility of compliance, to the glittering authority of dictating to the multitude.

THIS consideration would be sufficient to deter a man of moderate resolution from engaging in such an enterprise as the present; and yet the very difficulties that attend it, may, in some degree, animate to the attempt. Without difficulties, vanity can neither be gratified by success, nor consoled in defeat. Zeal is better proved by trial than professions, and when danger is at hand, zeal should be no feeble recommendation.

THE individual who acts under the immediate impulse of popular estimation, is indifferently qualified for publick concerns. Too greedy of applause, and too inattentive to the materials that compose it, he builds upon the sands, and when the winds blow, and the rain descends, great will be the fall thereof.

DURING the course of three years, how many different meteors have blazed in your political hemisphere? Splendent and irregular in their progress, they dazzled not enlightened the understanding. It is not then to pursue the tract of such evanescent and transitory sparks, that I present myself to the public. Alike insensible of its smiles or resentment, I shall hold the language of truth, supported by the consciousness of my own integrity, and by the few, the very few individuals who assert the privilege of thinking, and sometimes, of acting for themselves.

AMONG the numerous propositions that have long imposed upon the understanding, there is not one more literally false than that which maintains the people to be seldom in the wrong. The reverse is so strongly illustrated in this country, that it will be only necessary to recur to some late transactions to bear out my opinion.

FROM yourselves I will extort this truth, that England has conceded more to Ireland in the space of three years past than in the same number of preceding centuries. Must it not then be a matter of surprise to all the world that you should fix upon the present season to vent your enmity against the sister kingdom, and, in terms of far greater severity than you had ever been compelled to make use of during ages of subjection. But must we not experience something more than surprise when we contrast the expressions of gratitude so lately

poured forth, with the virulent and cancerous invectives that are now daily ringing in every corner against English ministers and English manufactures. Must we not experience something more than surprise, when we look into the vehicles of falsehood and read the reiterated attempts to blacken the most virtuous characters of the most virtuous administration, that ever presided over the interests of Ireland. And must not every body see that there is but one step from proscribing the trade to proscribe all connection with England. The trumpet of revolt has been more than once blown throughout the realm, the power of the house of Bourbon has been played before the people, and while the qualities of Louis the sixteenth have been enumerated with a loyalty that would do honour to a Parisian, the sword of the monarch has been represented as already drawn to cut the Gordian Knot that so ignominiously connected you with Great Britain.

I CANNOT yet prevail upon myself to dismiss the subject of your inconsistence, not only because it is entirely new, and I trust will ever be found so, in the history of mankind, but because I have not as yet heard a single argument substantiated by fact and reason to countenance the proceedings of the people of Ireland. It is true that something has been whispered against the moment of the liberality of England with the intent of destroying the virtue of it, now though it is by no means a generous principle, on the part of those who

who receive a benefit to be over curious in investigating the motive that gave it birth, yet that nothing may be wanting to give truth the amplest satisfaction, let us examine for a moment whether any thing lurked beneath the ratification of your independence, that can relieve you from the debt of gratitude, and consequently derogate from the liberality of England.

I AM aware that I revive a question that were far better buried in oblivion, but where the character of my native country is concerned, I hope I may trespass something upon prudence without much censure. Had England aiming at and almost compassing universal sovereignty yielded to the emancipation of an Island whose loyalty and religion had been so contumeliously reflected upon by its enemies, the act might have appeared the effect of indifference or disregard; but never of attachment. An act that promised to enrich her beyond any thing she could expect to squeeze out by the hard gripe of power, may fairly be classed among those of prudence and expediency and, if you will, of justice, but has no pretension to be titled an act of generosity. It would have resembled the charity of a gamester, who, in a sudden intoxication of success, throws the support of a year to the beggar to whom, the moment before, he had denied the pittance of a meal.

FAR more honorable was the conduct of Great Britain, weakened by the unnatural revolt

and independence of her American Colonies, when every the smallest territories that acknowledged her authority, acquired new consequence, and became in a manner essential to her existence, at such a crisis to ratify your independence in every shape that ingenuity or suspicion could devise, was an act that cannot more strongly record her liberality, than the inconsistence, to give it no worse a term, of those who would bring it in question. *Then* you were not silent, you were not insensible of the boon, you expressed your gratitude in all the swell of eloquence and in all the glow of the most ardent patriotism. New legions were voted to oppose what was now first emphatically denominated the common enemy, and the cementers of the alliance hohoured with the most sterling applause. The nuptials, thus celebrated under such propitious auspices, and the hours of the honey-moon brightened with such undisguised transports of extacy, promised every continuance of connubial happiness; not three weeks after marriage, when to the blandishments of love succeed, sometimes intuendos and at length open threats of separation and divorce. And for what? for a mendicant weaver that has unfortunately fascinated the lady, whose nakedness alone should in common decency have prevented her from eying him. But to discontinue the allegory permit me to ask you, if you thought a few years past, twenty thousand of your fellow citizens to be sacrificed in the cause of England a proper compliment to express your gratitude, with what shadow of consistency or reason would you make the distresses of scarce so many hundreds

hundreds a pretence for insulting her interests. As a man and a Christian, I am obliged to commiserate the unfortunate vagabonds that infest the metropolis, but they are not a permanent nuisance. Emigration and famine and the gallows, will probably, in the course of the summer so thin their numbers, as to leave the streets open and secure to the honest passenger. By what Irish calculation do you then proscribe the manufactures of England. It cannot be an enmity to her government, for you have expressed your attachment in every shape and variation that language is capable of, nor can it be in favour of the wretches above mentioned, for by the time that your system is completed, they will be finally incapacitated either by justice or nature from taking advantage of it. You may, indeed, enact that they must be buried in Irish woollens, which will doubtless occasion a quick and considerable consumption of them: but whether such *posthumous* charity would be thought an adequate relief must be left to your own determination.

WITHOUT presuming to press any further these conjectures, I hope I may be permitted to light for a moment upon the great subject of *protecting duties*, as far as they relate, exclusively, to yourselves. It is seemingly a bold assertion to advance, that the Irish manufacturers cannot be honest. I only judge from what has happened, and from this language being held uncontradicted by one of the first servants of government in the House of Commons. The gentleman alluded to, gave the reason
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of his assertion. He enquired at the ware-house, upon what account they had raised the price of a particular cloth, and was informed it was the extraordinary demand for it. Now admit, which is but fair, that they are regulated by the same principle in all their dealings, what other effect can the non-importation associations have, than to distress the middling class of citizens, which is generally the most valuable portion of the community ? For, if the price of manufacture is to advance in proportion to the demand, then they will clearly not have money to buy at home, and as it will not be permitted to import from abroad, they must be even content to go in buff, unless they strike upon some new Potosi in their excavation of the Bog of Allen.

If these reasons are not thought sufficiently defensive of Government, in having so decidedly opposed the protecting system, any further attempt on my part, may seem the result of obstinacy. This however, I will venture to maintain, that the English cloaths are infinitely finer than any made in this country. This is clearly not the language of partiality, you have constantly avowed it by the preference you gave them, till the late illiberal combinations. Why do we send to Turkey for leather, to Mocha for coffee, to China, for silk, when, at the same time, we get these respective articles from other countries less remote, and at less expence, but that their superior qualities are found a sufficient reason for so doing. There are certain principles of commerce, that are not to be transgressed

gressed with impurity. And will Ireland, in the very front of such principles, and in the very infancy of her commerce, make herself an exception to the rule that has hitherto been invariably observed by every trading people of the globe? Will she not as effectually thereby shut up her own ports, as if government should lay a perpetual embargo on her shipping? And suppose that foreign nations should resolve upon proscribing your manufactures, since you are pleased to forbid theirs, or at least such part as suits your pleasure, what then would become of your high mettle and boasted consequence. Primitive barbarity. Pardon the expression, it is my zeal for your interest that compels me to speak out; for what better than a state of barbarity, to be swathed in frize, to feed upon potatoes, and to be alternately smoked and warmed with turf and whiskey, while the slighter traces of civilization would soon be as little visible, as were formerly a shod Christian, a plantation, or a roofed cabin.

HAVING thus far proved the inconsistency of the people, and vindicated the conduct of government, in two points of no inferior consequence; it may be necessary to make some apology, when I presume treating of your domestic concerns. You have among you, no doubt, those that feel every regard for the common weal, and are ready to manifest it on all occasions. To those I should have left the like employ at present (for I easily anticipate the enmity to be incurred from interfering with

with their *profession*) if I did not feel something more than a common concern in the welfare of government. As my emoluments are derived from this country, and as I have been received with the most hospitable attention in circles of no easy access to the native; thus naturalized to your soil, it would be the most unpardonable ingratitude not to endeavour to requite such kindness by the only means in my power. If I cannot enforce that to be done which I am satisfied would essentially benefit the kingdom, I may perhaps lay the foundation of some one plan or line of conduct, for men of greater consequence to improve upon. Permit me to use the language of a fellow-citizen, in principle I am completely one.

The great source of public disorder is the Volunteers. I know how painful it must be to you to hear questioned the principles of men that you have been so long accustomed to idolize. I know also the folly of attempting to break down popular prejudices by a weight of reason. Like the pressure upon an arch, it serves but to strengthen and connect them. Still, however, I must repeat it, that the great source of public disorder is the Volunteers, and the next, the Press, or in other words the daily suspicions with which the people persecute the servants of government. These are accusations that may well startle you. They have hitherto been circulated in whispers. It

is full time for truth to appear in her native form,
without disguise and without fear.

IT is a proposition too evident to require demonstration, that a certain degree of harmony between those that govern, and those that are governed, is necessary to the existence of a state. But if this harmony be essential to the existence of a state, it can be no less so to its prosperity. Dissentions with foreign states are great, but remediable evils. But civil dissensions, when they gain a certain ascendancy, can only terminate in the destruction of the empire they rage in. Civil dissention it was that shook and subverted the bulwarks of Grecian liberty, that subjected Carthage to the Roman eagle, and Rome herself to a master. Learn then from experience, and do not vainly imagine that there is an antidote in the wisdom of modern constitutions to baffle the poison that has destroyed those of antiquity. Setting off with this incontrovertible position, that mutual confidence between the several members of a state is essential to the prosperity of a state, if the interruption of this confidence can be fairly charged upon the Volunteers, it will not, I believe, appear a very unwarrantable language to state them the great source of public disorder.

BUT first let us take matters under a more general view, which will lead us with more propriety to the dangerous effect of the longer continuance of the military associations.

If the present administration of Ireland had stept out of the usual tract, to insult your interests by any signal act of depravity, then there would be some reason to exclaim and to remonstrate. Slaves must be mute, but it is the prerogative of freemen to express their wrongs. Bowing to this prerogative, I will challenge the hardiest patriot of the day to adduce an instance where government has betrayed its trust. It may not indeed have complied with every particular requisition, that was made it, it may have exercised the freedom of thinking for itself, and they who would deny that freedom to others, have very little right to arrogate to themselves the title of its protectors. I challenge again an instance to be adduced, where government has betrayed its trust. The proof can never be made out until principles themselves have changed their nature, and things acquired new denominations. Until independence, ability, vigour, patriotism and intrepidity be received as synonymous for subjection, ignorance, indecision, treachery and fear, the charge of corruption can never be substantiated against the administration that actually presides in this country.

But perhaps it is not any particular acts of administration, but some particular members that belong to it, that have created in the people such general enmity and indignation. Whether this be a fair foundation to remove a minister or ministers, let justice determine. And justice never will determine to arm the multitude with the despotic authority

thority of proscribing the most virtuous citizens of the community because they refused to subscribe to every measure their caprice might require.

I DID not intend in this place to pay the tribute of applause to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. His virtues can derive little lustre from the page that would record them, his eloquence little embellishment from the pen that would transcribe it. Fathoming the most intricate depths of finance, and adjusting them with the same clearness and facility that awaits the most ordinary transactions; ever fruitful in expedients to relieve the necessities of the country, and ever masterly in the application of them; stunned by no clamours, daunted by no difficulties; cool, collected, irresistible in debate, original and disinterested in principle; contemptuous of wealth, of honours, of popularity; eager, prospective, pressing upon futurity; such is the character of the ablest politician of the present age, and if he boldly perseveres, will *unexpectedly* brighten into the character of the most virtuous patriot also.

I shall be silent as to the illustrious representative of majesty, but it would be treachery to be silent as to that gracious principle of the sovereign, that has removed every possibility of being deceived with respect to your situation. In former times the uninterrupted continuance of a viceroy in the government of this kingdom, gave him a power that I fully confess was frequently exercised to your prejudice. Of late

late years you have had too ample a range of English nobility in the appointment of Lord Lieutenants, to dread that any combination of them should misrepresent your true interests. But this is digression.

EXAMINE impartially into the several characters of the members that compose administration, and will any one be bold enough to presume, that they can have any views to gratify at the expence of the public interest? but what is of more importance to examine, and indeed upon which the principal intent of these sheets turn, is the inevitable consequence that must attend your suspicions. By them you have taught government to suspect also, By them you have taught it to aim at the dissolution of armed bodies, who alarmed you with accounts of the shameless waste of the public treasure, and the shameless attacks upon public freedom, in order to insure their own popularity. For the Volunteers, are sensible that they can no longer be popular, than as they are thought serviceable. It is not in human nature to cherish those that vilify and traduce us. This is born in our nature and can only terminate with our existence. From this principle it must follow, that Government cannot act vigorously for the benefit of Ireland as long as the Volunteers are in being.

SUPPOSE for a moment it should comply with the wishes of the people; would it not be immediately concluded, that such compliance was the result of fear? Submission dictated by force is neither very creditable in itself, nor palatable to the constitution of man. I am not now speculating, I am

I am arguing from stubborn facts. When a free trade was solicited from England and admitted, did not the people instantly conclude that the legislatures of the two countries were bullied into the concession. And this would probably be the case again and again; so that every virtuous art of government must by the strangest fatality serve only to rivet it still faster in the detestation of the public, and reader the military associations, if possible, still more intimately the objects of their veneration. It is this that made me charge the Volunteers as the source of public disorder. A truce then to the mischievous parade of mischievous reviews, that stand in the way of the patriot intentions of Government. Can it be reasonably expected while the sword is drawn and the banners are unfurled, that the real friends of the country will step forward. Until the warrior sinks into the citizen, and the firelock yields to the instruments of labour and industry, you never can experience those accumulated benefits that your present military infatuation makes you loose sight of. Were this done you might quietly command the advantages of soil and situation, which at this moment, by your own confession, you are as distant from enjoying, as when subjected to the domination of England.

~~This is matter worthy your consideration. But to go on venting your indignation on English ministers and Irish parliaments, because this gentleman gets a place and that a pension; that new offices~~

offices are created and old ones revived, as if all this, and more than this did not stand upon precedent and make in a manner part of the constitution of government, is folly and worse than folly.

It has been sometimes advanced by the refiners in politics, that wealth is highly prejudicial to a state unless there be strict integrity in those that have the management of it. This is one of the many errors that the world has long admitted, sooner than be at the trouble of examining into their title and foundation. And yet when we investigate closely the whole system of places pensions, preferments, promises, &c. which is petulantly denominated a system of corruption, it will be found literally to grow out of necessity, or if you dislike the term you may substitute patriotism without the slightest offence to truth.

It is the patriot, not government, that is the father of corruption. He comes with gigantic professions of fidelity to the people, holds before them a medium of his own composition thro' which they view every measure of state topsy turvy, and from gradually imposing on their eyes and ears and in short on the few senses nature has tormented them with, he becomes master of their authority and renders himself formidable to government. What is to be done, but to level this brazen turret with the same weapon that the God of Olympus had recourse to, to gain possession of the princess royal of Crete.

In plain English the Patriot is to be bribed, and as it is vulgarly laid the receiver makes the thief; so it may be safely alledged that the Patriot makes the bribe.

HAVING thus proved to the satisfaction of every unbiased individual in the kingdom, that all the corruption of government originates with opposition, and that all the iniquities of government, if there be any, can be only fairly charged upon the Volunteers, permit me to say a few words upon the mighty subject of a Parliamentary Reform.

THAT a reform is wanting, no reasonable man will deny. A REFORM of that indecency of expression that young members distinguish themselves with, on their first entrance into the house, of that constant invective that is darted against the servants in administration, without the shadow of truth and decorum. Every man should be presumed honest till the reverse can be proved. The very criminals at the bar of justice are supposed innocent till convicted, and yet in matter of character, so much dearer than life, ministers are condemned by whispers and innuendoes that have no other reality or consistence than the heated imaginations that evaporate them. And yet this game, played over and over without any possible credit or advantage to the parties concerned; for though mere suggestions may impose upon the people without doors, that are in the dark, they can never

ver blind the representative body that has the means of information at command.

It would be a REFORM, that the clerks of the house were short-hand writers, and obliged to take down every expression that was made use of. This was attempted by a distinguished character last sessions to curb the spirit of several unbroke Patriots. It is to be hoped that he will not narrow his views to mere temporary expedients, but strike out some efficient plan to give the real sentiments of the member to the public. Such a reform would keep parliamentary debates within due brevity and decorum, the political principles of gentlemen would appear in their native colour, and there would be an end to the flagrant misrepresentations that overflow in the daily vehicles of falsehood.

This naturally bears me to another part of the conduct of Government, that has been railed at without mercy, justice, or moderation. When it was intended to subject the press to regulation, it was presumed that such a measure at the close of the sessions would have amply compensated for any little inadvertancies that might here and there have been committed in the course of a laborious attendance, by the members of administration, it was reserved by way of a *bonne bouche* to surprise those into approbation, who had never yet committed approbation, (to use their own phraseology,) who had been barking and snarling the whole of the sessions. Instead of this salutary this necessary and this patriot attempt

attempt being received with transport by those who affected to style themselves the friends of the People, they ring so powerful an alarm throughout the kingdom, as to compel the minister himself to consent to such a mutilation of his bill, as scarce to leave it the emblems of strength and manhood that distinguished it on its introduction.

AND what was the real principle of the bill but to protect the real liberty of the press and the real character of the subject? this is truth as clear as noon-day, and not clearer than the confidence with which it is denied. There is still, however, a resort in the prerogative of the crown. Since the tribunes of the people will not permit Parliament to blunt the stiletto of the press, it remains with the sovereign to extend his shield for the safety of his subjects; he has frequently in former times taken the press within his jurisdiction and regulated it by his proclamation. To this is owing the present superior polish and purity of French literature, and though I should be far from borrowing my political maxims from the detested source of arbitrary government, yet when I reflect that in the height of Roman liberty, libels were punished with corporal chastisement, and that with us the press has often been committed to the care of an inspector, I am satisfied in my own mind that something of this nature is absolutely necessary to our quiet. God forbid that I should recommend the sanguinary process of the twelve tables, that inflicted capital punishment on the authors of libellous publications,

publications, this would go near destroying the real freedom of the press, and my wish is to regulate, not destroy.

WHEN we consider the effect of this privilege of the press as it is at present exercised, we shall find it as destructive to the morals of the lower class of the community, as to the peace of many illustrious characters in office. Nothing is so incident to human nature as the ambition of imitating those above us. We think we are elevated to a level with the great when we adopt their principles and pursuits. Thus if a Lord, as it will sometimes happen, is fortunate enough to ruin a tradesman by his custom, or a farmers daughter by his address, and then leave them to perdition, the inferior radical treads in the same steps of roguery and seduction and thinks himself so far a Lord as well as the best of them. Thus when every paragraph of a news paper holds out those things called ministers, or secretaries, or commissioners, in the light of so many licensed plunderers that are promoted in proportion to the depredations they commit upon national property, the immediate consequence of such calumny is to offer an irresistible temptation to every anonymous vagabond in the community, to cheat and lobs, and plunder in his respective dealings, in the prospect of a like gratification. Nor is this alarming evil to be corrected by any exhortations of my brethren in their several callings; for so depraved are their flocks of late years as seldom or ever to attend the place of divine worship, and the chance time that they do, so literally do they

take the sabbath for a day of rest, that they will sleep away the very portion of time the pastor is employed in explaining to them the mysteries and principles of their religion.

I AM not afraid to hazard this paradoxical assertion, that if your liberties could be destroyed, the press would be the most likely weapon to be made use of. When men find themselves charged with crimes that they never so much as harboured an idea of; when they find themselves continually pointed at by the finger of scorn at the very instant perhaps that they are labouring the hardest in the service of their country; I do not say that such treatment will create in them new dispositions, but it finally will in their successors. Few worship virtue for herself alone. This is a faithful picture of human nature, and should warn us how far we give into the present frenzy of the times. And let it be also adverted to, that constant disappointment creates indifference and terminates in disbelief. If for example I read in every paper, that such and such attempts have been made to overturn the constitution, to injure the state, to master our liberties, and all that the intumescent tide of popular declamation never fails to pour forth, and after frequent examination I find the constitution, the state, our liberties, upon the self same rock they were built on centuries before me, what must I conclude but that such alarms are circulated to disturb my quiet, or to promote the interests of the authors of them. So that habituated to disappointment

ment and at length wearied and disgusted, I take to my chamber and refuse to come out, when the wolf may be really at hand, and the Shepherd in true earnest bawls for assistance.

LET me then conjure my adopted countrymen to get rid of the suspicions and calumny with which they persecute government, and which I stated to be, along with the Volunteers, the great source of public disorder. If the constitution is not, perfect it is at least such as your ancestors were content with, and I think you may be content to inhabit the tenements that they occupied. It is a bold and dangerous enterprise to innovate the government of a country. Besides it is apprehended by administration that if any more concessions were made, they would only lead as heretofore to new demands. And as a refusal must ultimately come, it may as well now as later. Experience demonstrates the impossibility of satisfying the bulk of the people. First they were all submission when they got leave to export a few striped and printed linens, then an humble prayer was put up to dispose of your woollens of a particular description, and then you require England with a curtailed money bill, and now she is to be pestered with a new list of grievances, as if she had nothing else on hand than to superintend the education of this Irish giant. Such is the indelicate language held by your enemies beyond the water, and tho' I cannot approve of the publicity with which it is spoke, yet I must confess that

that it is in most parts grounded. I think I have some opportunity of being acquainted with the sentiments of those that preside over your affairs, and this I most solemnly affirm that it is not any English instructions that surprised the several measures that have created so a general an alarm. The schemes belong only to your own countrymen, no doubt their motives are strictly honourable. For with respect to a parliamentary reform, that is insolently denominated your hobby horse, you cannot well think that England interests herself much, whether you keep it up or no. When she liberally conceded to you independence of trade and constitution, matters that must have feelingly affected her, it is not to be credited that she would now descend into any under management in concerns that can only reach yourselves.

WHAT has been here said one would think sufficient to induce you to lay aside all jealousy, and suspicion. I have argued the dangers that must result from such a temper, though I fear without success. The difficulty of the attempt does by no means lie in the arguments to be employed; for the truth is, that those suspicions are founded on no one species of argument whatsoever; but it is, that by long neglect they have so far eat their way into the constitution of the people, that they will not submit to any prescription that may tend to eradicate the poison. Besides the empyricks that surround them day and night are so totally masters of their ear, that they will not permit a single sentence to be whispered

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ed that might create a doubt of the infallibility of their skill. Thus men that boast of freedom and liberty and constitution, and that are ever ringing the changes backwards and forwards, have no more the reality of freedom than our black brethren that are daily yoaked and stewed under a tropical sun, that we may sweeten our tea and taste confectionaries. I will ask this plain question, were you ever content? was there ever a real patriot that pleased you the moment he gave his support to administration? in a thrice it rains satires, libels, gallows's, pasquinades, lampoons, and the supposed apostate is cried up and down the streets by a numerous banditti, that spit his name from one mouth to another, till he sinks into a bye term of reproach with the wretchedest reptiles of the creation.

I AM far from insinuating that a dishonest minister is a rara avis on this side the channel, any man more than the other. Flocks may sometimes be seen in both countries. All I would advance is, that the press blackens twenty swans for one that nature does. When the minister finds that he must bear the load of infamy whether he acts well or ill, he may well think himself entitled, since he cannot secure character, to secure that which is at least an equivalent to it.

Quid enim salvis infamia nummis?

Such is the fatal danger of questioning the integrity of ministers: and believe me it as little suits the delicacy of men in high rank as of ladies in high life, to be suspected without a cause. Suspicion has been as mortal an enemy to political as to female innocence.

WOULD

Would you consent but for a months suspension of hostilities between government and yourselves, you would soon experience the effects of my advice. Short as the interval, it would be sufficient to restore you to your natural good humour and openness of character. The Irish are brave, liberal, confident; do not throw aside virtues that have so long distinguished you. It is the baneful shade of suspicion that obscures them. Root up the fatal tree. It is not a native of your soil. It has been furtively planted by some bastard son of cowardice, that when it shot up he might skulk behind it in the hour of national danger.

AND now permit me gentlemen to observe to you, that every obstruction you give to the measures of administration will be attended with fresh burdens to yourselves. It only tends to enhance the price of your leaders, and government must buy them, be the market as it may. Those who have the management of your property look upon themselves as irremovable, as agents empowered to expend what sums they think proper, in order to procure your happiness. Is it then sense, is it economy on your part, purposely to advance the price of a commodity that must be paid for out of your own pockets, and that with very little attention to circumstances to qualify the sale to your satisfaction? I tell you this in time, if previous to the opening of the next session, there should be any very prolific encrease of places and pensions; you may have yourselves, and yourselves only to thank for it.

it. The present military establishment, I will allow to be peculiarly onerous upon the subject, and such as would not be submitted to in England. No sincere advocate for freedom can be well inclined to large standing armies. Here then was fair matter of enquiry had it been conducted with decorum. At the very instant that it was intended to fine it down to a constitutional size, on a sudden such dissonant clamours are raised on every side, as that our liberties were to be carried sword in hand, that government was reluctantly necessitated to give over its plan of reduction, or evidently appear to have been bullied into compliance.

IT was pretty loudly said, that the Volunteers would interfere. After such language, it became a point of safety with administration, to endeavour rather to augment than diminish its strength in case of future attack.

I tell you this also in time, that if at the opening of the next sessions, you should find any additional regiments upon the Irish establishment, you may thank yourselves, and yourselves only.

Is it reasonable to suppose that government would of its own accord encumber this island with numerous armies? one would think that it had already fully evinced its real intentions on that head. In the very height of the late war, *flagrante bello*, you were almost entirely relieved from the odious protection of the regulars. What then could prevent

prevent their being dispensed with in the time of peace, but that a serious issue is apprehended? When every paper represents the most virtuous members of administration as so many plunderers of distinction, when their most innocuous measures are detorted from their real meaning and charged with the odious principles of treachery, and tyranny, when the Volunteers are daily solicited to reform the state, and the appeal not made once or twice or in the dark, but in the face of the whole world by the infatuated multitude, and as openly encouraged by the military legislators, it is high time for government to look about. Had it lately been off its guard, had it not acquired the requisite strength from the *accidental* influx of several foreign regiments, what must have been the consequence! The castle of Dublin would probably be in the possession of a Mr. B— or a Mr. T— or some other worthy member of the aggregate body, or perhaps would be by this time converted into a mayoralty house to lodge the placid and constitutional magistrate, that exposes the representative of the people to insult, least a few beggarly ragamuffins should receive a little military chastisement. It is to be hoped that the censure he has been subjected to, will teach him hereafter that the Patrician order is not to be offended with impunity, by remonstrances from the refuse of the people.

I FAIRLY

I FAIRLY acknowledge that I cannot well contain my indignation at the torrents of applause that are so copiously poured out on the Volunteers, after having so demonstratively proved them the author of every injury that has been, or is likely to be engraven on the constitution. Is the refusal of parliament to reform the elective franchise of the people, an injury? is the Post Office Bill, the Press Bill, the establishment of fifteen thousand men in profound peace, the violation of the Charter of Dublin, the committal and prosecution of the printers, and the rapid promotion of your most inveterate enemies to the highest post of honour and emoluments, is each of these steps an injury to the constitution? you see I adopt your own language, not indeed from conviction, but for the sake of argument; I answer then to such questions, yes? solid substantial injuries; but who are the authors? I must answer that also, the Volunteers. They it is, that have spirited up the people to demands that should have been solicited as favours. They it is that have taught them the peremptory tone of command, in place of the constitutional language of petition. They it is that having warded off foreign invasion from the kingdom, look upon themselves entitled to invade it in their turn. At such a crisis can parliament yield, can ministers acquiesce. And if they did, could they reasonably expect to reap a single sheaf of patriotism? would they not be looked down upon as puppets in the hands of the Volunteers, to bend and advance and

and retire as they pulled the wires. Let us then sweep away the calamity that has been so artfully affixed to the representative body. Let us commemorate that august intrepidity in the moment of danger which would have done honour to a Roman Senate. Hannibal *ad portas* was the argument of resistance, not of submission. And if great and virtuous actions do not rest upon time and climate, if they are built upon a firmer base and require no external buttresses for support, let us not refuse to enter the temple and do justice to the workmanship, because it has not been erected upon a foreign soil and by foreign architects. Let us of all vices avoid the vice of ingratitude; and what is it but the darkest tint of ingratitude, to render unto remote characters, every tribute of applause, for the same conduct that you require among yourselves with every species of insult? Encourage if you please the manufactures of the country, but encourage at least equally its virtues. The expediency of protecting duties, is problematical, the necessity of protecting government is unavoidable.

HERE then I will rest the strength of my positions. Let the People, let their Tribunes answer me, have you ever derived a single benefit from abuse? have you ever been able to drive a single minister from his post, or expunge a single tax-law from the statute book! if there be a single instance, I yield up all I have been contending for. And does not this prove that Parliament is

is INDEPENDENT of your authority, and will an independent body submit, will an independent body reform its own constitution, in order to depend upon your breath for existence ! what mighty magic is there in the periods of your petitions, to persuade three hundred people to resign authority, emolument and state, which they at present enjoy for a period as long as their lives would be rated at in any calculation whatsoever, in order to become the humble suppliants of the commonality. And for what would they then supplicate ? what they are already masters of, and what I have enumerated, emolument, authority and state. Do not then harass the lungs and hands of the several orators and pen-men of your several counties in framing of petitions to Parliament. It is pure leis of wit, style and paper, you may go to Parliament with one petition, and one hundred, and one thousand, you may throw them into what shapes, and build as many bridges with them as you please, still they will be but paper bridges and will never advance you further on your journey. What then have you to do but wisely to wait till corruption runs dry.

"At ille labetur, & labetur in omne voluntatis suum;"
 To conclude with the last proof of the folly of your conduct. It is now time to tell you since no experience will, that your abuse is the very best letter of recommendation at the castle. It is nonsense to say the King is the fountain of honour;

honour; that prerogative belongs TO POPULAR ABUSE. THIS ABUSE it was that raised an inconsiderable advocate to be the first criminal judge in the kingdom and classed him among the Peers of the realm: *this abuse* it was that quickened the promotion of the present amiable and constitutional Attorney General. *This abuse* it was that gave you an herculean Chancellor of the Exchequer, that might be able to support the system, should it chance at any time to press too heavy on the shoulders of the secretary. Shall I continue the catalogue, or having given you a few instances of the efficacy of popular abuse, shall I give you a few instances of the efficacy of *popular favour*? *this favor* it was that damned the Reform Bill, that rendered abortive the county petitions, that presented to the King a parliamentary libel upon the Volunteers, *this favor* it was that has thrown upon you an immense military force, *this favor* it was that scout-ed out protecting duties, *this favor* it was that enslaved the pres^s; *this favor* if was, (no less efficacious with respect to men than measures) that once stripped of his preferment when a private senator, the late luminary of the seat of justice, and the perpetual ornament of his country and of human nature; *this favor* it was that enriched government with the sale of a considerable employment that had been purchased, and the money paid by the representative of the country of Dublin; *this favor* it was that with still more unbounded generosity gave back to the same government, the vice treasuror-ship of Ireland, that it

it had plundered from the chief, from the pillar of the democracy, *this favor* it was that armed Defamation with a stiletto to assassinate a noble and illustrious prelate, and when she struck the constitution, he supported, intrepidly accused him of the murder; that converted his respect to every religion to the disbelief and denial of all, his genius to eccentricity and his charity to ostentation, and that represented the finest principles of independence, the purest ardentacy of patriotism, and the ablest vindication of the rights and privileges of man, as issuing from a spirit of turbulency, sedition and revolt.

Do I now thunder truths to the People of Ireland?

Do they now learn, and feel, and acknowledge this solemn fact, that the words in which they have expressly their enemy and their attachment, have been equally fatal to their interests? Let them know then that there is another language besides that of words, that nations make use of to enforce redress, and which needs only to be uttered to be obeyed.

You have read in these sheets the pitiy arguments of the desperate members of administration. They are indeed strong in wickedness, but can never be strong enough to stem the torrent of national resentment if it runs collectively against them. I have not distorted the reasons of the just, but tried to give them a clear and correct

corrupt supporters of a government still more corrupt, you have them in their native in their genuine, their original shape, without detraction and without embellishment, whatever mint they issue from, whether from a venal senate, or a venal news paper, or a venal pamphlet, the impression is equally uniform and the inscription equally legible.

I ram atque animos a crimine sumunt.

F I N I S.

compris que le voyageur soit dans le cor-
tez au cours de son voyage, et que
lorsqu'il sera dans un autre pays, il
soit alors dans un autre cortez.
6 DE 58

Il fait partie des cinq derniers

chapitres.

Ainsi